

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 DODE-00 PRS-01 IO-13 /058 W

-----271348 066281 /47

P R 271052Z FEB 77

FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 737

INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 1167

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JO, PLO, XF

SUBJECT: TALK WITH PRIME MINISTER ON PLO DIALOGUE

SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BADRAN TOLD AMBASSADOR GOJ'S RECENT SEVEN AND ONE-HALF HOURS OF MEETINGS WITH PLO IN AMMAN WERE NOT UNPLEASANT. GOJ BRIEFED PLO "SELECTIVELY" ON RECENT FOREIGN VISITORS TO AMMAN INCLUDING SECRETARY VANCE. PLO PLEASED WITH JORDAN'S POSITION ON GENEVA THAT DEFERS TO PLO ON PALESTINIAN ISSUES, AND BADRAN THINKS PLO WOULD ACCEPT GENEVA INVITATION IF LATTER NOT SPECIFICALLY TIED TO PALESTINE "REFUGEE" ASPECT OF UNSC 242. FAHUM MAINTAINS PLO ACCEPTANCE OF WEST BANK/GAZA STATE AND WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE MEANS PALESTINE NATIONAL COVENANT ALREADY AMENDED DE FACTO TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S LEGITIMATE EXISTENCE. WHILE GOJ DURING TALKS WAS AMENABLE TO PLO DESIRE FOR JOINT MEETING WITH CONFRONTATION STATES, PROVISION BY PLO ON ITS OWN OF FINANCIAL HELP TO WEST BANK, AND TRAVEL TO DAMASCUS BY TWO PLO OFFICIALS IN JORDAN, GOJ REJECTED PLO REQUESTS

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FOR MILITARY ACTIVITY ON WEST BANK, RELEASE OF PALESTINIANS IN JORDANIAN DETENTION, RENEWAL OF CANCELLED PASSPORTS FOR CERTAIN PALESTINIANS, AND SPECIFIC COMMITMENT AND PLANNING FOR FUTURE PLO-GOJ MEETINGS. GOJ RAISED FUTURE PLO (WEST BANK) JORDAN LINKS AND SUGGESTED PLO STUDY DOCUMENT ON 1972 UNITED ARAB KINGDOM PLAN AND BE PREPARED TO COMMENT IN ABSENCE OF ANY PLO PROPOSALS. KING REFUSED

TO SEE ARAFAT BEFORE MARCH 6 CAIRO SUMMIT, BUT IS "OPEN"
TO SEEING HIM LATER. ON BASIS OF BADRAN'S REPORT OF
MEETINGS, GOJ OBVIOUSLY BELIEVES IT DOES NOT HAVE TO
GIVE MUCH IN CURRENT DIALOGUE WITH PLO. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIME MINISTER BADRAN ON FEBRUARY 26 GAVE ME
DEBRIEF OF MEETINGS EARLIER IN WEEK WITH PLO IN
AMMAN. TWO SESSIONS TOOK PLACE COVERING SEVEN AND ONE-
HALF HOURS. IN FIRST SESSION ONLY KHALID AL FAHUM
SPOKE FOR PLO. IN SECOND HANI AL HASSAN ALSO PERMITTED
TO SPEAK. BADRAN RECALLED HE HAD MET SEVERAL YEARS
AGO WITH HASSAN IN SAUDI ARABIA AND CONSIDERED RELATION-
SHIP GOOD. HASSAN HOWEVER TOLD BADRAN HE HAD BECOME
MORE OF A "DIPLOMAT" SINCE LAST MEETINGS, IMPLYING
EVASIVENESS, WHICH BADRAN SAID HE HAD STRONGLY REJECTED.
TONE OF MEETINGS WITH
WALDHEIM, SYTENKO, DE GUIRINGAUD, GENSCHER AND SECRETARY
VANCE. HE MADE SURE I UNDERSTOOD THAT REPORTS HAD NOT
INCLUDED EVERYTHING, ONLY SELECTED ASPECTS OF WHAT
HAD TAKEN PLACE. JORDAN ALSO HAD STATED IT'S POSITIONS:
IT WOULD GO TO GENEVA, BUT ONLY AS CONFRONTATION STATE;
PLO SHOULD RECEIVE AN INVITATION; PLO SHOULD REPRESENT
PALESTINIANS NOT JORDAN. PLO APPEARED PLEASED WITH
THIS APPROACH OF GOJ. PLO SAID THEY WANTED AN INVITA-
TION AND WOULD ACCEPT.

3. ON PARTICULARS OF INVITATION, PLO WOULD OBJECT
TO ACCEPTING ON BASIS OF UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 388,
AND HOPED THAT MODIFICATION OF "REFUGEE" ASPECTS OF
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242 COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED. GOJ TOLD THEM ITS VIEW
WAS THAT IF INVITATION OFFERED TO PLO IT WOULD BE
DE FACTO RECOGNITION BY OTHER PARTIES THAT PALESTINIAN
"RIGHTS" WERE ACKNOWLEDGED AND PLO COULD COME WITH
CONFIDENCE ON THAT BASIS AND NOT WORRY ABOUT MODIFICA-
TION OF 242. BADRAN SAID PLO APPRECIATED THIS INTER-
PRETATION, BUT MIGHT STILL WANT TO TRY TO MODIFY 242
IF THEY WERE INVITED TO GENEVA.

4. I ASKED BADRAN ABOUT MODIFICATION OF PALESTINE
NATIONAL COVENANT IN REGARD TO ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO
EXIST AND PRESENT LIKELIHOOD OF THAT HAPPENING AT
PNC MEETING IN CAIRO ON MARCH 12. HE REPLIED THAT
HE HAD ASKED FAHUM SAME QUESTION. FAHUM'S ANSWER WAS
THAT PLO ACCEPTANCE OF WEST BANK/GAZA STATE OF
NECESSITY ALSO IMPLIED, OR INDEED EXPLICITLY RECOG-
NIZED THAT ISRAEL WOULD ALSO HAVE TO EXIST. THERE-
FORE THAT PROVISION OF THE COVENANT HAD BEEN "PLACED
BEHIND" AS FAR AS PLO CONCERNED AND WAS NO LONGER

RELEVANT. HE ALSO SAID PLO USED THE PHRASE "JUMPED OVER" TO DESCRIBE THIS POINT.

5. BADRAN THEN DESCRIBED WHAT PLO WANTED AND GOJ RESPONSES:

(A) A FOUR-POWER MEETING TO WORK OUT RELATION-SHIPS AMONG THEM (I.E., EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN AND PLO). GOJ SAYS WILLING TO MEET ANY TIME, ANY PLACE IT IS INVITED TO DO SO.

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(B) FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS ON WEST BANK. RESPONSE: GOJ WILL NOT HELP PLO TO UNDERTAKE THIS, BUT PLO IS FREE TO DO WHATEVER IT LIKES.

(C) MILITARY SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS ON WEST BANK. RESPONSE: THIS IS INADMISSIBLE. JORDAN WILL NOT HEAR OF IT.

(D) OPENING OF MORE PLO OFFICES IN JORDAN
(APPARENTLY IN ADDITION TO EXISTING PERMITTED "TAME"
PLO OFFICE HERE.) RESPONSE: BADRAN SAID HE INSISTED THAT PLO-GOJ RELATIONSHIPS WOULD NOT REQUIRE THE EXISTENCE OF PLO OFFICES IN JORDAN. THIS WOULD TEND TO LEAD TO RECREATION OF PRE-1970 CONDITIONS WHICH THE KING HAD SPECIFICALLY RULED OUT.

(E) RELEASE OF PALESTINIAN DETAINEES IN GOJ PRISONS. RESPONSE ALL PERSONS -- EAST BANKERS AND PALESTINIANS -- IN JAIL ARE EQUAL UNDER GOJ LAW. IF WE RELEASE PALESTINIANS ACCUSED OF PARTICULAR
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CRIME, WE MUST ALSO RELEASE EAST BANKERS.

(F) PERMISSION FOR TWO UNNAMED MEMBERS OF PLO EXCOM TO TRAVEL TO DAMASCUS FOR MEETINGS. RESPONSE: GOJ HAPPY TO FACILITATE SUCH TRAVEL.

(G) PROVISION OF PASSPORTS TO CERTAIN PALESTINIANS NOW NOT ELIGIBLE OR BANNED BY GOJ. RESPONSE: GOJ HAS REFUSED OR WITHDRAWN PASSPORT PRIVILEGES FOR GOOD REASON AND WILL NOT REVERSE SUCH.

(H) DRAWING UP OF AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE PLO-GOJ MEETINGS. RESPONSE: GOJ WILL DISCUSS ANY ISSUE PLO WANTS. ANYTHING CAN BE ON THE AGENDA. GOJ AGREED TO INCLUSION OF ALL OF THE ABOVE LISTED ITEMS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

(I) KING SHOULD MEET ARAFAT BEFORE ARAB 6 MARCH CAIRO SUMMIT. RESPONSE: KING HAD LEFT JORDAN ON DAY OF PLO DELEGATION'S ARRIVAL FOR LONDON VISIT. HE WILL NOT BE BACK UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE MARCH 6 SUMMIT. LITTLE TIME FOR BEFORE SUMMIT MEETING, BUT KING IS PROBABLY WILLING TO MEET ARAFAT AT SOME POINT DURING DIALOGUE.

(J) WHAT ARE FUTURE LINKS TO BE BETWEEN JORDAN AND A PALESTINIAN WEST BANK/GAZA STATE IF SUCH IS CREATED? PLO HAS NO SUGGESTIONS NOW TO MAKE. RESPONSE: GOJ PROPOSAL IS 1972 UNITED ARAB KINGDOM PLAN. MANY ARABS ATTACKED JORDAN IN 1972 OVER THE PLAN. PLO MET IN BEIRUT FOR THREE DAYS TO DISCUSS IT. THE END OF THAT REVIEW BROUGHT A NEGATIVE ANSWER. THE GOJ GAVE PLO THIS WEEK A PAPER OUTLINING THE UAK PROPOSAL. GOJ WANTS PLO TO REVIEW PROPOSAL AND PROVIDE AN ANSWER.

(K) PLO ASKED FOR A THIRD SESSION DURING CURRENT
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VISIT TO AMMAN, OR IF THAT NOT POSSIBLE, MEETING IN

ONE WEEK ON A DATE CERTAIN. RESPONSE: GOJ HAD COVERED ALL TOPICS RAISED IN FIRST TWO SESSIONS. THIRD SESSION ONLY POSSIBLE IF PLO PREPARED TO DISCUSS JORDAN UAK PROPOSAL. PLO NOT READY TO DO THAT. GOJ RESISTED NEXT MEETING ON DATE CERTAIN NEXT WEEK, BUT PROMISED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH PLO TO SET A TIME FOR NEXT MEETING WHICH IS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE AND AT WHICH GOJ EXPECTS PLO TO DISCUSS UAK PLAN.

6. JORDANIANS REFUSED TO INTRODUCE TIME OF NEXT MEETING IN COMMUNIQUE. BADRAN REPORTED TO KING ON MEETING BY TELEPHONE TO LONDON FEBRUARY 26.

7. COMMENT: FIRST ROUND OF DIALOGUE HAS PROCEEDED SLOWLY WITH NO SURPRISES. GOJ IS IF ANYTHING SLIGHTLY TOUGHER ON SOME PERIPHERAL ISSUES (PRISONER RELEASES) THAN WE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED. IT SEEMS CLEAR ALSO THAT GOJ IS HOLDING OFF THE NEXT ROUND UNTIL IT CAN SEE WHAT WILL DEVELOP AT 6 MARCH CAIRO SUMMIT. WHILE BOTH SIDES SEEM TO BE STANDING FIRM ON PAST RECORDED POSITIONS -- I.E. JORDAN ON "RABAT SUMMIT" AND PLO ON "NATIONAL COVENANT", THERE IS ALREADY SOME INDICATION THAT EACH MIGHT BE PREPARED TO "JUMP OVER" OR "REINTERPRET" THESE BASIC DECISIONS, WITHOUT PUBLICLY REVERSING THEM, AS THE DIALOGUE CONTINUES. HOW FAR THIS WILL GO IS HARD TO SAY AT THIS POINT. JORDAN'S INTRODUCTION OF THE FUTURE LINKS QUESTION WILL PROBABLY BE AN ACID TEST FOR THE FUTURE AND THE NEXT SEVERAL MEETINGS SHOULD SHOW MORE CLEARLY WHERE THIS DIALOGUE WILL LEAD.

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Message Attributes

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